THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1962 -- JUNE 1962



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1962--June 1962

July 1962

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PREFACE

The statements at the beginning of each section of this monograph are supported by quotations from authoritative communist publications.

These statements summarize the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, on major current issues of national and international interest.

Both the Sunday and the Midweek editions of the newspaper,

The Worker, as well as the periodicals, Political Affairs and Mainstream,

were reviewed to determine the Party's position. In the documentation of

some of the supporting quotations, "MW" preceding the page number shows

that the accompanying item is to be found in the Midwest edition of The Worker.

The Midwest edition was discontinued after April 29, 1962.

Only misspellings in the quotations are indicated by underlining.

No other errors are marked.

Of particular interest to some readers may be the items with respect to relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China and Albania found in Section I on foreign policy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In international relations, the Communist Party, USA, maintains that the United States foreign policy is leading to global war; that this country's policy of military supremacy perpetuates the arms race; and that the ultraright wing and the monopoly ruling class promoting this policy constitute the real menace to world peace. Another peace deterrent, according to the Party, is the United States refusal to settle the Berlin crisis and to sign peace treaties with the two German states.

According to Party spokesmen, Latin-American "solidarity" was primarily responsible for the failure of the United States to impose sanctions against Cuba at the Latin American Ministers Conference held in Uruguay early in 1962. The Party also claims that any concessions this country makes to Latin-American countries are minor, the major aim being profits.

Albania's support of the inevitability of war and the "cult of the individual" is opposed by the Communist Party, USA, as it is by the Soviet Union. Communist China, however, according to the head of the Communist Party, USA, is dedicated to peace and should be recognized as the "legal" Chinese nation.

In domestic affairs, the Communist Party, USA, contends that life for the workers in the United States should be made comparable to the life of the worker in the Soviet Union. In the United States, the Party says, survival is imperiled by the resumption of nuclear testing; the fall-out shelter program is protested as a project for war preparation; freedom of the press is threatened; older people are neglected; and food and housing problems are mishandled. Solution of these domestic problems could be found, insists the Party, if war preparations were not given precedence. Oppressed peoples and militant groups in the United States need to join forces and demand a change, assert Party leaders.

The labor situation in this country, according to the Communist
Party, USA, is growing worse because of automation and refusal to trade
with socialist countries. Although big business prospers, the unskilled and
semiskilled are thrown out of work and receive no assistance from an
unsympathetic Government and reluctant labor leaders. Capitalism, according
to the Communist Party, USA, needs more and more profits to survive;
therefore, the United States monopolies advocate war to boost their profits.
The Communist Party urges a return to the militant spirit of the American
labor movement of the '30s in order to promote employment, peace, and
security.

Communists are blaming mechanization in agriculture for the plight of the small farmers being forced off their land and the discontent of jobless migrant workers. They hold that a better future for both groups would be achieved by their unionization and by the sale of farm surpluses to socialist countries. But in the long run, communists point out, only a socialist America will keep the corporation farmer from reaping larger profits.

Communist publications report that the "monopolistic," "racist," "fascist" United States is not involving itself in the struggles of the new nations and the underdeveloped countries for the benefit of the people there, but primarily to secure military bases and markets. Communists assert that these colonials will win their independence, will repudiate United States imperialist intervention, and will seek aid from the socialist countries.

The McCarran Act is vehemently opposed by Communist Party leaders. Communists refuse to register as the Act requires because they claim that to register would be to admit that a communist conspiracy against the Government exists. They portray themselves as the most ardent defenders of the Bill of Rights, and they indicate their intention to fight the McCarran Act, to fight for progressive legislation, and to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Communist Party, USA, states that the Pentagon is leading the country into a war of annihilation; that American involvement in Europe and Asia is not only unnecessary but also dangerous and provocative of war; and that the United States should stop building armaments and bomb shelters and should bring its troops home. If this was done, it is claimed, peaceful industries and social welfare would be served and world peace would be assured.

The rising pressure from minority groups, communists contend, is one indication that capitalism in the United States will give way to socialism. Communists blame the capitalist system for the plight of Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians in this country. They also claim that Jews have always been discriminated against in the United States, while in the Soviet Union they are becoming assimilated.

Communist spokesmen in the United States praise education in the socialist countries, but they bemoan the crisis in American schools, insisting that insufficient money has been expended for education. In their visits to campuses all over the country, communist leaders are impressed by the students' demands to hear communists speak and to learn about Marxism.

Communist critics complain that television and motion pictures in the United States are not the cultural media they could be because profit is the main goal and, therefore, programs and films are designed to pressure the American public.

Communists emphasize that cultural exchanges with the Soviet
Union are conducive to American progress. They argue that communist
goals for the world are in accord with those of the great religions; namely,
to wipe out poverty, discrimination, exploitation, and war. Marxism glorifies man rather than God, and communists are pointing out that scientific
exploration of outer space confirms this view.

Women in the United States have not achieved the independence of women under socialism, according to comparisons made by communists. They are elated that there are groups of women in this country fighting for peace and meeting with other groups of women abroad in the interest of bringing about disarmament and world peace.

Communist Party, USA, leaders are in the upper age bracket, and they emphasize the need for youth to carry on their programs. They take encouragement from their decision that the younger generation has a progressive outlook in solving problems. They are pleased that young people are showing a political awareness and are interested in hearing "real communists" speak at schools and colleges.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, persists in blaming United States foreign policy for world tensions and maintains that this country should negotiate with the Soviet Union to bring about peace. The Party, therefore, may be expected to continue to combat nuclear

testing; to censure the Government's handling of problems in Germany, Africa, Asia, and Latin America; and to share the views of other communist parties in opposing the Albanian Party's position. In support of its views, the Party will drive even harder to convince the American people that their united action against America's foreign policy will bring about disarmament and a better life.

- 2. The most frequent communist complaint is directed against the "right-wing imperialists" who are accused of making war for profit instead of legislating for social welfare. It is therefore anticipated that the Party press will endeavor to rally the majority of the American people to "defeat the plot of the ultra-Right."
- 3. Unemployment is seen by communists as this country's basic domestic problem, and they contend it is the Government's responsibility to find work for the jobless. To solve the problem, they maintain that automation's toll could be counteracted by the Government's training the resulting unemployed for other jobs and creating work through trade with socialist and newly independent countries. Consequently, the Party will urge working people to revive labor's militant spirit of the 1930's, will advocate shorter working hours, and will insist that labor unions and labor leaders support the demands of labor's rank and file.
- 4. The Communist Party, USA, presently driving for the repeal of the McCarran Act and for action against the 'reactionary right conspiracy,' can be expected to continue such attacks.
- 5. The Communist Party, USA, constantly condemns the capitalist system of the United States for oppression and exploitation of minority groups at home and for upholding colonialism abroad. The Party will do its utmost to create unrest by attempting to persuade minority groups in this country, particularly the Negroes, that they are the victims of capitalist oppression. Party leaders can also be expected to reiterate their propaganda that colonial countries are expected to function as our military bases and as a market place for our surplus capital. They anticipate that such agitation and propaganda will complicate the problems of capitalism and speed the coming of socialism.

6. Youth is receiving much attention from communist leaders in the United States. Because young people are showing a vital concern in political and social problems, the communists will continue to exploit that interest, attempting to turn it to their own advantage. They will endeavor to agitate for the appearance of communist speakers at schools and colleges and to win youth for communism.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

- 1. The United States promotes its self-destructive cold war policies, whereas the only saving policy is one of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union to relieve mankind of the armaments burden and open the door to a better life for everyone.
- 2. The United States policy of relying on military supremacy and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries to maintain a leading position in the world has been a "total failure."
- 3. The ultraright wing of the monopoly ruling class in the United States is organized and driving to block plans for peace and disarmament. Its policy for world-wide conquest makes the right extremists a real menace.
- 4. Peace cannot be achieved before there is a peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis and the signing of peace treaties with the two German states.
- 5. The United States makes only minor concessions to Latin-American countries and is primarily interested in advancing American monopoly interests.
- 6. The Latin American Ministers Conference failed to establish sanctions against Cuba because of the "solidarity" of the Latin-American workers. The United States should accept Cuba's "chosen" social system.
- 7. American military intervention in Southeast Asia--Vietnam,
 Thailand, and Laos in particular--is ostensibly aimed at the threat
 of communism but in reality is reinforcing tottering "dictatorships"
 and could cause a major nuclear war.
- 8. The world communist movement, including the Communist Party of the United States, is firmly opposed to the Albanian Party's support of the Stalin "cult of the individual" and its departure from the advocacy of peaceful coexistence and the noninevitability of war.
- 9. The Communist press in the United States claims that Communist China is dedicated to peace and that the Soviet Union supports Communist China's struggle for the "liberation" of Taiwan.

10. The Congo wants its independence, while the intervening imperialist powers want Katanga's wealth. But the conflict is confused by the division of the imperialists, whose plans are doomed.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. World Peace Vital to American People

"The dominant point in the Presidents' program is the cold war. During the past year, this country moved from one war danger to another, and increased tension from Cuba to Berlin. Our record in each continent requires an altogether different review than that indicated in the President's message. Our country needs to conduct a program for peace instead of waging 'a global civil war.'"

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 2.

"Today the path of the struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, and world peace is the way to open the doors for the working class of our country and the whole world to a better life."

> The Worker, April 29, 1962, p. 3.

"...It is in the most advanced self-interest of our nation to establish peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union as the bedrock of our foreign policy. On such a foundation it will be relatively easy to arrive at negotiated settlement and agreements on all questions of dispute in the world arena, including the raising of the armament burden from the shoulders of mankind and thereby releasing massive resources for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the peoples of all nations."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11. "At the heart of any people's program to shore up the economy against the impending danger of an economic bust with all of its resulting mass misery, must be the political question of bringing about an end to the self-destructive cold war policies governing our foreign relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist third of mankind."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, p. 2.

2. United States Strives for Military Supremacy

"...'Brinkmanship, ''positions of strength, 'and subversive intervention in the internal affairs of other countries are still the circulating currency of our foreign policy. Yet, events demonstrate that they have no more value in extending imperialism's real estate in the terms of todays world than Confederate money."

"We must say it plain that the foreign policy of the Kennedy administration is still on a collision course that could yet lead the world into a thermonuclear holocaust..."

The Worker, March 25, 1962, p. 9.

"...the present Administration presses doggedly along the path of the cold war laid out by Winston Churchill and John Foster Dulles. The essence of this cold war policy in foreign affairs is to strive for military positions of strength sufficient to cow the Soviet Union and the community of Socialist states into accepting our terms for the solution of all disputed questions in world affairs. It is a continuation of the reliance upon war or the threat of war as an instrument of national policy.

"This policy, or absence of policy, has been a total failure and has no prospects for success in the future...."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

3. Right Wing Drives To Block World Peace

"THE RIGHTWING drive moved into high gear last week to block the new opening for cooperation at the highest level between the U.S. and the Soviet Union..."

"...the campaign to sabotage this hopeful bid for U.S.-USSR cooperation for disarmament was being stepped up. The obvious aim of the drive is to establish an atmosphere of disapproval among the Americans..."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 1.

'IT IS, INDEED, true that there is not enough pressure coming from the overwhelming masses of the American people who sincerely want peace...if enough people would let President Kennedy know that they want him to consider seriously Premier Khrushchev's proposal for a summit meeting to get moving on an agreement for general and total disarmament, it would help tremendously in making it possible for the President to resist the pressures from the right...."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 3.

"... The pressing danger of driving this country and the world into a suicidal thermonuclear war comes from the ultra-Right spokesmen for American imperialism. That is the most crucial danger to the American people. This makes the need for negotiations and improved relations of the greatest importance."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 4.

'In dangerous number there are men present in the Pentagon..."

"... They are the Ultra-Right wing of the monopoly ruling class-dedicated to the restoration of McCarthyism.

"Their grand design is for a fascist home front to sustain a world-wide military crusade of conquest and plunder."

"The depredations within our country of this jackal pack of Ultra-Righters are the real enemy that endangers our country, the sole 'clear and present danger' that threatens and menaces the fate of our nation."

The Worker, March 25, 1962, p. 6.

4. World Peace Hinges on Berlin Settlement

"A PRE-CONDITION to the achievement of world peace is the peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis and the signing of a peace treaty with the two Germanys. Heightening world tensions is the looming menace of a rearmed West Germany...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 2, 1962, p. 5.

"The recognition of the existence of two German states is a key question in European and world politics and may well determine whether there will be World War III or not. Especially in official circles in London, and of late also to some extent in Washington, there seems to be some growing understanding that this fact of life must be accepted...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 22, 1962, p. 4.

"The increased economic power of the Common Market has emboldened West German Chancellor Adenauer to dictate openly U.S. foreign policy and to block any peaceful settlement of the West Berlin crisis, one of the worst peril points in international tensions."

> The Worker, June 10, 1962, p. 15.

5. United States Imperialism Exploits Latin America

"The intervention of the U.S. government in the intrenational affairs of Latin lands becomes more open and flagrant with every passing day.

"The Inter-American Council for Defense is the 'nest which is hatching' the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officer castes to be used as instruments to stage coup detats in the interests of the monopolies."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 13, 1962, p. 4.

"...U.S. imperialism aims at lessening internal discontent in the Latin American countries by making minor concessions to the public and to the national bourgeoisie on the condition that these countries subordinate themselves completely to U.S. interests and renounce their own independent path of development. This tendency found expression in the so-called 'Kennedy Plan,' grandiloquently christened by the U.S. President as the 'Alliance for Progress.'"

Ernesto Che Guavara,
"Cuba and the 'Kennedy Plan, "
Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 26.

6. Sanctions against Cuba Fail

"SECRETARY OF STATE Dean Rusk is now in Punta del Este, Uruguay..."

"...trying to cajole, cozen and bribe the Latin American governments into preparing the ground for collective economic, political and possibly military aggression against Cuba."

"The chief implement of the Kennedy-Rusk twist is undoubtedly the \$20 billion of promised Alliance for Progress economic aid over a 10-year period for those that spurn Fidel, embrace U.S. investors and have the courage and statesmanship to introduce the manicured land reform of the Chase Manhattan Bank..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 23, 1962, p. 4.

"THE FAILURE of the Latin American Ministers Conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, to establish sanctions against Cuba was due mostly to the spirit of solidarity—international working class solidarity—shown by the Latin American workers and people in general for Cuba, for Castro and for the three years' achievements of the Cuban revolution."

The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. 7.

"... the people must prevent the narrow exploitative interests of U.S. monopolists from dictating government policy in our relations with the newly-formed nations and still unfree peoples struggling for their emancipation from the bonds of imperialism....it is in our national interests to rectify our relations with the Republic of Cuba and accept the fact of the social system that her people have chosen in the exercise of their sovereign right of self-determination..."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

7. United States Policy Bolsters Dictatorships in Asia

"...President Kennedy's armed intervention in Vietnam is having a two-fold effect in the UN. It is first of all arousing fear that a major war may flame out of Southeast Asia, where American troops are killing and being killed. And it is also destroying any belief in the honesty of American foreign policy spokesmen."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 20, 1962, p. 3.

'IN ANOTHER of his bellicose declamations, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara indicated over the weekend that the Pentagon and the White House are determined to pursue in Southeast Asia the mad policy which is bringing closer the outbreak of a major struggle there."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 20, 1962, p. 2.

'United States Marines are landing in strength in Thailand. They are establishing permanent military bases there in a desperate and historically futile effort to bolster a tottering, hated dictatorial government....

"From the now occupied soil of Thailand is poised a U.S. battle force that threatens new interventions against the patriotic peoples' forces in Laos and the neutralist government set up by the will of the people in Cambodia.

'Intervention of the U.S. combat forces in the South Viet Nam civil war on the side of the hated Diem dictatorship is reaching massive proportions....

"Major units of the Seventh Fleet are prowling the coasts of the nations of South East Asia like a modern pirate fleet.

'Our soldiers in South Viet Nam, Thailand and Laos are asking, 'Why are we here?' It is high time to recall the fiasco of the Korean War which could not be won for the dictator Syngman Rhee despite the vast outpouring of American lives and treasure in that vain effort.

"The tidal wave proportion of the movement toward National Independence among peoples emerging from Colonialism has proven irresistible...Only the U.S. flies in the face of this reality....

"This intervention is raising the spectre of a series of Korean type wars. In the immediate background lurks the danger of a major world thermo-nuclear war.

'Now is the time to call a halt to this massive U.S. military intervention in the affairs of the nations of South East Asia. Every American should demand the recall of all military personnel and equipment from Thailand, South Viet Nam and Laos.'

"Hands Off Southeast Asia!"
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 1.

8. Albania

"... The Albanian Party leaders support the methods and practices of the Stalin cult, play a disruptive role, having departed from the 81-Party position on the question of peaceful coexistence and the non-inevitability of war. But contrary to the lies of the monopolist press that seeks to stimulate division, the world Communist movement is overwhelmingly opposed to the Albanian Party's position..."

The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 8.

"...Izvestia of Feb. 3... declared the Albanian leaders had distorted the concept of peaceful coexistence and the proposition that world war can be prevented. ... quoted the N. Y. correspondent of the Greek newspaper Kathimerini who wrote that Washington welcomes the position taken by the leaders of Albania, which is said to be 'of the greatest practical advantage to the NATO* member countries that attach great strategic importance to Albania. ""

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 3.

9. China

"Friendship meetings...marked the 12th anniversary, Feb. 14, of the Soviet-Chinese treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance."

^{*}North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"The newspaper Pravda..."

"...declared, 'the Soviet government resolutely supports the Chinese peoples struggle for the liberation of the island of Taiwan, consistently exposes the ill-starred theory of two Chinas, and has been carrying on for many years a tireless and insistent struggle for the restoration of the lawful rights of Peoples China in the United States. ""

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 20, 1962, p. 3.

"... Hall urged the admission of China to the United Nations as a major step to world peace and friendship. He told the audience that China as well as all other Socialist nations is dedicated to peace and will pursue a course against war. He stated that charges of 'warlike actions' attributed to China were not true."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 15.

10. The Congo

"...On one side stand the people of the Congo, yearning and struggling for their long-awaited goal of real independence. Against them is arrayed the imperialist might of the western powers. But this imperialist grouping is itself divided, primarily between the United States on the one hand, and the Anglo-Belgian bloc on the other...And at the heart of the struggle stands the wealth of Katanga...

'It was to keep this wealth that the imperialists brought about the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues and suppressed the legal parliament...."

"... the new Central Government is the outcome of a compromise and further conflict between the two trends it has brought together will, in the long run, be inevitable...."

"...there can be little doubt that the imperialist forces who were responsible for Lumumba's murder are equally responsible for Hammarskjold's death...."

"...any imperialist hopes of imposing a neo-colonialist solution on the Congo are doomed, in the long run, to failure...."

Jack Woddis, 'What's Happening in the Congo?" Political Affairs, January, 1962, pp. 29,30,32, 33.

"From Angola on the West to Capetown in the South, there still remain in Africa, in conditions of near slavery, some 70 million human beings. These super-exploited drones of imperialism must have their freedom and sovereign national rights."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. The great majority of the American people can be rallied to counter the influence of the ultraright.
- 2. The struggle to continue publication of The Worker is essential in the fight to preserve freedom of the press.
- 3. Demonstrations against the resumption of nuclear testing are a manifestation of the concern of people for survival.
- 4. The fall-out shelter program is opposed by many Americans who see it as an unjustified expense and a war preparations project.
- 5. Under the socialist system, everyone has enough food but, in the United States, the needy are often unable to obtain sufficient food or adequate housing.
- 6. The medical care legislation before Congress can improve the health services for the people although a socialist society can provide such services much more effectively.
- 7. Capitalism is tenacious in the United States, but socialism will surely replace it.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Ultraright Can Be Defeated

"THE VAST MASS of the American people can be rallied to defeat the plot of the ultra-Right...

"...A movement must be developed that will include many conservatives and liberals, the mill worker and the farmer, the Negro people, the national groups, the scientists, educators, doctors, and other professional spokesmen, the religious leaders, writers, and artists, the women's organizations, young people on the campus."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 6.

"...Shall the McCarran Act—the Bible of the Birch Societies, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Crusaders, the White Citizens Councils—be allowed to prevail or shall strong winds of the people's indignation blow the ultra-Right into the ash-can of history?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

"Yes, the political winds are not to the liking of the Ultra Right.

"But we have to increase this wind to hurricane force."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 8, 1962, p. 6.

2. The Worker Essential to Free Press

"The Worker* fights for working class rights, better working conditions, civil rights and world peace. Its stand often conflicts with the policies of the monopolies.

'We say, as did...poster published by the government during World War II:

"Freedom of the press is a guarantee of your liberty....*

"KEEP IT FREE. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 6, 1962, p. 4.

"The attempt of the Department of Justice to indict and prosecute The Worker and its staff under the labeling provision of the McCarran Act is as infamous as previous attempts to control and suppress freedom of the press through licensing."

^{*}Underlined portions italicized in original.

"This is not simply a Communists', radicals', or progressives' fight. It is a struggle for freedom of the press for all, freedom to know and to decide the issues of peace, equality, democracy and social progress."

The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. 3.

"TENS OF THOUSANDS in our state recognize that The Worker and Mid-Week Worker must live! A fighting press that clarifies the issues is a must to defeat the ominous threat to democratic liberties from the fascist-like McCarran Act. A fighting press relating the main issues one to the other, is a must to win the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. A fighting press, exposing the myths of white supremacy, is a must to wipe out the shame of Jim Crowism and religious bias in jobs, housing and schools. A fighting press is a must to strengthen the unity of all liberty-loving men and women to beat back the menace of the ultra-Right."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 10, 1962, p. 3.

3. Nuclear Testing Protested

"HOURS AFTER President-Kennedy had announced that atomic tests would be resumed, fist-swinging police brutally attacked 9,000 peace demonstrators in Times Square."

"Neither Mayor Wagner or President Kennedy can afford to keep silent on this savage assault on the rights of protest and assembly, the more so since it was the voice of sanity and survival that police clubs were attempting to stifle."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 6, 1962, pp. 1, 7.

"PEACE ACTIONS directed at President Kennedy's decision to resume atmospheric tests continued to rise last week..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 13, 1962, p. 8.

'In defiance of protests by astrophysicists and astronomers of the U.S. and other countries, the Government continues its preparations to carry out nuclear explosions in the far-out rim of the atmosphere and in outer space."

"THE HIGH ALTITUDE tests in the Pacific are not only charging the atmosphere and surrounding space with new radiation dangers, they are also poisoning the diplomatic atmosphere."

> The Worker, June 10, 1962, p. 3.

4. Shelter Program Protested

'Our shelter program appears to all the world as a dig-in-for-war program; for Americans it would mean self-interrment. It diverts from housing and school construction, funds to be used for tomb construction."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 20, 1962, p. 8.

"... The President persists in ignoring the massive protest by scientists, professors, students and women against the shelter program as a suicidal war preparations project."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 3.

- "... never did a bubble burst so quickly as the fall-out shelter...."
- "... It's not a source for a fast buck and certainly no way to get employment for workers."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 4.

5. Needy Deprived of Housing and Food

"A visit to a flophouse in any big city would shock the ordinary citizen...."

"Where can we get a night's lodging for 65 cents or a month's for \$15, 'a roomer asked me bitterly. 'The fellows in these places have a hard time making out even so....'

"They cannot get jobs, except for a few days now and then...."

"The endless delays in getting government funds for projects benefitting the masses as distinguished from the ruling class and its retainers is well illustrated..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 6.

"... there are millions of workers and the members of their families who are underfed.

'Much of the stored up food could be used up right here in our U.S. by giving food to those who do not earn enough to feed their families.

'In contrast, under the Socialist system in spite of the difficulties they encounter, there is no one that does not have enough food to maintain proper health."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 1, 1962, p. 6.

"PRESIDENT KENNEDY was urged...by dislocated tenants at the dedication of Penn Station South, a cooperative housing project, to take action to prevent a repetition of the 'tragedy' of 'bulldozer' slum clearance.

"The tenants' plea was included in a leaflet ... "

"The leaflet greeted the President and told him of the 3,000 families, including members of minority groups, who could not afford to participate in the new project.

"Many of them, the leaflet said, had been forced into 'worse housing at higher rents than before, 'and the community had been 'split wide open with hate and anger."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 22, 1962, p. 4.

6. Lagging Medical Care Legislation

"Socialized medicine?...It is a reform realizable under capitalism, that will improve health services for the people although a socialist society can provide these services better than any reforms under capitalism."

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 6.

"WE WHO LIVE in the U.S., richest country in the world, still are in the discussion stage on how to take care of our SENIOR CITIZENS!

"Not so in the lands, where the workers are in control."

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 6.

"...the Kennedy administration has sponsored the King-Anderson bill in Congress. The bill is being backed by the organized labor movement and by all people's organizations in the nation. Opposed to it are the ultra-reactionaries, segments of the financial community and part of the Republican party leadership. Leading this opposition are the medical bosses of the AMA."*

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 8.

^{*}American Medical Association.

"...the Kennedy Administration certainly has not shown the energy needed to secure the passage of the King-Anderson bill, which the President insists has top priority in his program...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 12, 1962, p. 2.

7. Socialism in United States Is Certain

"My dear Comrades and Friends:"

"... You are the only ones today fighting for that fundamental democracy for which the United States was founded.

I hope that despite all you suffer you will not think of hesitating or giving up for a single moment.

Fight on: Your victory in the end is absolutely certain.

W. E. B. Du Bois"

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 1.

'WE ARE entering a new and frightening epoch in America. Our nuclear profiteers threaten us with total destruction. The profiteers of automation threaten our workers with extinction.

"Sometimes one gets the feeling that capitalism, facing its inevitable execution will try by history to hang on even if it means the end of the human race."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 6. "...Surely, our own working class and nation will derive much inspiration from the successes being attained by the Soviet people, and in due time, and after our own fashion. will also take the necessary steps to change our old-fashioned and hurtful capitalist system for a new up-to-date, scientific and rational model--socialism."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

- 1. Opportunities for jobs are scarce and, therefore, the President will have to take measures to relieve the situation, for the ruling class will do nothing to help.
- 2. The leading socialist country, the Soviet Union, is surpassing the industrial growth of the leading capitalist country, the United States, where, despite soaring profits, nothing is done for the jobless millions.
- 3. Automation in thriving industries is throwing unskilled thousands out of work.
- 4. American capitalism requires profits to survive, but the people are beginning to see that the monopolies advocate war for profit.
- 5. If American leaders of labor and industry who fear the competition of socialist countries would wake up, they would see that a policy of trading freely with all nations, including socialist and underdeveloped, would advance the cause of peace.
- 6. With all its public responsibilities, labor in the United States, unlike that in most European capitalist countries, is denied its own representatives in Congress.
- 7. A revival of the militant working-class spirit of the '30s would produce the leadership and initiative to organize the masses for fighting labor restrictions and winning jobs, peace, and security.
- 8. Top labor leaders do not reflect the sentiment of rankand-file members and hence do not respond to their needs and desires.
- 9. Big business and the Government regard unemployment as a means of keeping labor "in its place."

10. Although strikes are being discouraged by some union leaders and by arrests and police brutality, they continue to be the best means of settling labor grievances.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Employment Drops

"...the basic issue of the day-JOBS...."

The Worker, April 1, 1962, p. 3.

"As against some earlier views that the drop in the labor force may indicate a slowdown in the dropout of youths from school, the government's experts now concede that many people are really giving up an active search for jobs because there aren't even hopes for jobs...."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 11.

"... The ruling class is not interested in having the real extent of joblessness revealed."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 24, 1962, p. 6.

"... But unemployment is becoming too big for local authorities.... Automation progresses. Employment goes down as productivity goes up. The shorter work week—with 40 hours pay—and work projects are urgently needed, and President Kennedy's prospects in 1964 will depend very much on what he has done to save workers jobs."

The Worker, May 27, 1962, p. 10.

2. Industrial Growth Insufficient for Employment

"THE ANNUAL economic report of the Soviet Union last Monday revealed a faster industrial growth last year in that leading country of socialism as compared with the United States, the chief capitalist state...."

> The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 3.

"The facts do not indicate a growth that could provide jobs for the millions now unemployed, to be displaced by automation and the millions more of new entrants into the job market. Such growth as does take place in certain fields shows up in more output but in no more (or fewer) jobs. Such are the bare facts that stare us in the face on 'the major domestic challenge.'"

The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. 11.

"PROFITS of corporations, after taxes, hit an all-time high in the final quarter of 1961, and they are climbing to a still higher level for the first quarter of 1962, according to the latest compilations."

"The facts revealed in the business journals give the lie to the current business inspired publicity on the 'profit squeeze' that allegedly hit the economy and the Kennedy administration's efforts to virtually enforce a moratorium on improvements for the workers."

> The Worker, March 11, 1962, p. 2.

3. Automation Threatens Jobs

"... The problem of automation is the No. 1 economic problem facing the steel workers (and most other workers in manufacturing) and they demand a real answer."

The Worker,
January 7, 1962, p. 4.

"Thousands of children are going to school without breakfast.

This is not happening in a depressed area but in a place where industry is humming with both private and government contracts."

"A primary factor is automation, and the vanishing of many unskilled jobs...."

The Worker, February 11, 1962, p. MW 2.

"Thousands of workers are losing their jobs because of automation."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 27, 1962, p. 1.

"AUTOMATION threatens our living. The atombomb threatens our life."

The Worker, March 18, 1962, p. 1.

4. American Capitalism Seeks Profits through War

"There is an old-rule that public men must not be engaged in any private business that conflicts with their official duties. But the 'conflict of interest' between the arms industries and disarmament is plain to any thinking child. And the President's sincerity in the Geneva negotiations will be tested by the behavior of his disarmament representatives."

"...And it will do well for President Kennedy to go to Geneva and speak for himself."

The Worker, March 25, 1962, p. 9.

"...Gus Hall...has been a constant spokesman for the steel workers...."

"The people begin to see that the ... Monopolies are the source of the war drive, the advocates of war for profit. They are the source of the discrimination against the Negro worker as a means of making more profit from all workers. They are the source of the drive for the conquest of foreign lands by military ventures and economic power. They are the American imperialists.

"'This also means that our country will never move forward until the influence of monopolies is cut down and shackled....""

The Worker, April 22, 1962, pp. 1, 11.

"Working people are hungry for jobs, and employers with an ever watchful eye on big profits and fully cognizant of the deep split in the ranks of American labor, are taking full advantage of labor's division in order to get work done as cheaply as possible."

> The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 5.

5. Trade Would Be Boon to Peace

'If the leaders of labor faced up to the situation, they would recognize that the biggest potential market is in the socialist and newly independent former colonial world...'

The Worker, January 14, 1962, p. 4.

"At a time when the tariff problems and Common Market of Europe agreements are pressing so heavily upon American Copitalism, it would appear logical that some real changes in trade policies with the socialist countries be urgently undertaken and brought in line with reality."

The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 11.

"... Powerful big business and reactionary forces, intent on preserving their vested interests at home and abroad and resisting revolutionary changes anywhere, see competition from the socialist world as a threat to the United States and the so-called 'free world."..."

An Editorial, "The U.S. and the XXII Congress, CPSU," Political Affairs, January, 1962, p. 6.

"... This overriding requirement of national security and world peace, if it is met, will at the same time provide the best grounds for the development of trade among all nations—capitalist, socialist and underdeveloped. Therefore, if it is to be really effective, the search for an alternate new trade policy must be linked closely with the struggle for a national peace policy, based on peaceful coexistence and non-intervention."

James S. Allen, "Free Trade, Monopoly and Labor," Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 13.

6. <u>Labor Lacks Voice in Congress</u>

'American labor, among the politically weakest major union movements in the world, does not have its own representatives in Congress.... the labor movement must carry on a struggle outside Congress to bring its influence to bear on issues....

"...the people, aroused, organized and active, can change the course in Congress on some issues."

The Worker, January 21, 1962, p. 3. "Labor also has a responsibility to tackle the issues of civil rights and civil liberties, education, housing and health, and the basic question of disarmament and peace. Such issues indicate the need for labor to take a new stand and assume responsibility to make a new coalition in this session of Congress which will mean defeat for the coalition of reactionary Republicans, and Dixiecrat Democrats and the ultra-Right."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, pp. 7-8.

"A delegation of almost any capitalist country in Western Europe (except the Iberian Peninsula) could make a comparison similar to that made by the Finns.... In none of them are the governments and parliaments so barren of representatives of labor as is the Congress of the US...."

The Worker, April 8, 1962, p. 4.

7. Revive the "Spirit of '36"

"Today the labor movement, harassed by Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, Smith and McCarran Acts, would do well to work for the return of the fighting 'Spirit of '36. It is that kind of spirit that can recommence the forward march of American labor neded to beat back the attack on working conditions, and win individual rights, peace, security and jobs."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 5.

"... given leadership and initiative, the forces for a drive for the many thousands of non-organized in the low-paid industries, can be aroused to action."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 20, 1962, p. 3.

"...though labor, the Negro people, youth, the Left generally, are entangled in a web of legal restrictions and impediments, it is still possible to agitate openly, to organize resistance, to form alliances, to operate among the people."

'In the Mainstream, "
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 13.

"... The traditional militancy of the American working class is reasserting itself."

"...historic struggles of today are being shaped on the American scene."

The Worker, May 6, 1962, p. 9.

8. Labor Leadership out of Touch

"...the top leaders do not reflect accurately labor rank-and-file sentiment. It is well known, however, that the AFL-CIO's* leadership holds an important place in the coalition of forces supporting the Kennedy administration. The reluctant protest and criticism they express is, therefore, only a partial reflection of the rising dissatisfaction down in the ranks."

The Worker, March 4, 1962, p. 3.

"The most important difference in the trade unions is that between leadership and membership. The rank and file of labor of course are influenced by the thinking and policies of the leadership and are still at a relatively low level of class consciousness, but they want a change in the direction of the movement. This has been shown by spontaneous strikes, by pressures on the

^{*}American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

leaders on immediate issues which often move them into action, by changes in local leadership in some unions, and in other ways. They lack organized Left leadership which could give clarity and direction to their protests.*

This is the critical weakness in the labor movement."

William Weinstone, ''On Social Democracy,'' Political Affairs, March, 1962, p. 49.

9. Unemployment Condoned

"Bourgeos statistics minimize the evil phenomena of capitalism, especially in such labor-sensitive areas as living costs and unemployment...."

"Corporate America, and the Government apparatus which serves it, is quite happy with existing massive unemployment. It helps to keep labor 'in its place' politically and economically...."

Victor Perlo, "The Unemployed: Slander and Facts," Political Affairs, January, 1962, pp. 16, 18-19.

"Asked once about the depression Ford said, 'a depression is a wholesome thing in general....""

The Worker, March 4, 1962, p. MW 3.

10. Only Strikes Settle Labor Disputes

"The steel industry had six industry-wide strikes since the war, the last one for 116 days, despite assertions by David J. McDonald and his predecessor Philip Murray that ways can be found to settle disputes without struggle. The feverish drive to stockpile steel going on now indicates the likelihood of another strike next summer, with shorter hours, so the leaders tell us, as the main demand...."

The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 4.

^{*}Underlined portion italicized in original.

"Twenty five years ago, General Motors workers...climbed out of the misery and poverty of Open Shop slavery to win the first union contract covering all workers in 17 GM plants. They did it by the sitdown strike, and they won despite everything that GM could throw at them."

"But just as labor broke through then, much more now awaits action, like winning the shorter work week at no cut in pay, 30-40, as it is called, to help put thousands back to work...."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 5.

"...the teachers' strike..."

"... dramatically demonstrated that professional workers can fight militantly and unitedly."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 17, 1962, p. 2.

"FIVE PICKETS were arrested last Sunday at the Beth-El Hospital picket line. This brings the total number of pickets and union officers arrested since the strike began two weeks ago to 13."

"Cleveland Robinson, executive treasurer of District 65, addressed the meeting, which had been called to rally support behind the strikers, and told the overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Rican gathering that what is at stake in this strike is not merely a contract, but 'whether or not we are first class citizens.""

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, p. 8.

IV. AGRICULTURE

- The small farmer and the farm worker are being forced off the land by mechanization.
- 2. The corporation farmer is reaping huge profits under the capitalist system but, in a socialist America, inequities may be overcome.
- 3. Trade with all countries would aid in solving the problems of farm surpluses and world peace.
- 4. The plight of the migrant workers is becoming more desperate, and only a great social change offers them any hope.
- 5. Although the oppressed farm workers have been cowed by antiunion employers, there are strong, established unions and other groups to which they can turn for help.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Small Farmers Are Being Dispossessed

"... The small farmers, who cannot compete with machinepicked prices, are forced to the wall and farm laborers are forced out of work."

> The Worker, April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"... Mechanization and technological developments have revolutionized agriculture. Factories on large farms and modern machinery long ago outmoded the single family producer...."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 34.

2. Corporation Farmers Harvest Profits

"Field by field the machines invade the farms of the corporation farmers (who alone can afford them) and harvest huge profits for their owners..."

The Worker, April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"... There are immense wide open spaces in our country. Of course private ownership has them already fenced off for its own uses and profit... However, if one has a vision of the future socialist America, one sees the vast possibilities of overcoming the anarchy of capitalism."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 9.

3. Need for Foreign Markets

"Minnesota farmers, whose elevators are bursting with grain, find it hard to accept the old arguments of 'no trade with China' while Canadians are delivering millions of bushels of wheat to that country."

"The experience of the Canadian farmers is clearing away the fog of propaganda and is opening up strong sentiment among American farmers for trade with all countries and, therefore, for additional markets which could improve their economic position and strengthen the struggle for world peace."

> The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. MW 2.

4. Social Change Only Hope for Migrant Workers

"...the long smoldering discontent of the migrants, so long abused, so long forsaken, has at long last forced its way into the political arena.

"And the cry of the field workers:

Born in a cornfield, Raised like a slave, Don't even have The price of a grave.

"... This cry is being heard..."

The Worker, April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"JOHN STEINBECK'S 'The Grapes of Wrath' shocked millions to protest the death in life of migrant workers. But the dust of the whirlwind of discussion and demand for change of the thirties has settled long ago and been forgotten. It may be that nothing short of a basic social earthquake will offer them hope for a good life..."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 36.

5. Farm Workers Should Organize

"... Everyone else has organized and the farmer is left holding the bag. Once organized he can do much....

'If the family farmer does not soon stand together, there will only be hired hands left, and if the hired hands do not stand together there will only be migratory workers left, and if the migratory workers do not stand together, there will only be the unemployed left. The sooner the farmers organize the better, for organize they must."

William Wheeler, 'Iowa Farm Family,' Mainstream, January, 1962, p. 43.

"BRACEROS, the Mexican farm laborers..."

"...have been used not only to lower the working conditions generally, but have often been employed as scabs to combat union organizing drives among migrant workers. Because they are not citizens and live under constant threat of deportation the braceros fears have been played upon by anti-union employers."

The Worker, April 22, 1962, p. 5.

"...the nomadic and declassed status of migrant workers requires the experienced helping hand of strong established unions and other groups to give them a start on the road to representation in industry and in our American government."

> Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 36.

V. COLONIALISM

- 1. Due to the monopolistic and fascist character of the United States, the new nations building their independence are seeking help from the socialist countries.
- 2. Peace, the world's principal goal, will not be realized as long as the imperialists are allowed to oppress colonial and unfree people.
- 3. The United States military campaign in South Vietnam recalls to the inhabitants the oppression wrought there by the French colonialists.
- 4. United States intervention in the affairs of Portugal's colonial empire, in British Guiana, and in Thailand cannot keep them from gaining their independence.
- 5. The policy of capitalist countries toward colonial nations is not dictated by humanitarian interests but is aimed at securing potential military bases and markets for their surplus capital.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. New Nations Look to Socialist Countries

"... Who can deny that the colonial and oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are looking more and more to the world socialist system—the most advanced example of which is the Soviet Union—for their sustenance in securing their independence, self-determination, and dignity? They are not looking to the monopolists and racist class of our country, which oppresses and exploits the Negro and white working people at home, even as they uphold the colonialists abroad. It's a pity, for our country with its great democratic heritage—but it's the truth."

The Worker, February 11, 1962, p. 6.

"THE WORLD'S new nations, seeking economic independence by building basic industry, find their best help coming from the socialist countries."

The Worker, May 6, 1962, p. 8.

2. Colonialism Obstacle to World Peace

"...the struggle for peace has taken on three new dimensions the struggle against the war danger and the ultra-right, anti-colonialism, and the fight for peaceful co-existence...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 2, 1962, p. 4.

"The success of the Soviet plan for tremendous productive growth, with the highest standard of living and the shortest work week in the world, will have an enormous effect upon the American people, and...upon the already crumbling colonial world... But in order to bring it about, it is necessary that peace become a real fact, that the scope for destructive action by imperialism be even further narrowed..."

"In the Mainstream, "
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 15.

"RELATED TO THE FIRST task of all mankind—the struggle for world peace—is the struggle of the colonial and unfree peoples for national sovereignty, freedom from alien domination and racial discrimination, for the right of peoples and nations to equal human dignity, unfettered economic and cultural development, and political self-determination."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

3. United States Directs Campaign in South Vietnam

"Undoubtedly, the South Vietnamese people are now recalling the terror, the brutality, the cruelty of the French colonialist troops, as the U.S. directed campaign uproots them from their native countryside, burns their homes and drives them into concentration camps, politely termed resettlement villages."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 24, 1962, p. 8.

"...Washington has taken over the 'dirty' war in South Vietnam that the French colonialists could not win. What does the Kennedy administration think is the reaction of the South Vietnamese with their bitter memories of the barbarism of the French colonialists?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 8, 1962, p. 2.

"Our soldiers in South Viet Nam...are asking, "Why are we here?"...

"The tidal wave proportion of the movement toward National Independence among peoples emerging from Colonialism has proven irresistible...Only the U.S. flies in the face of this reality...."

"Hands Off Southeast Asia!"
Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 1.

4. United States Buttresses Colonialism

'SALAZAR still rules the third largest colonial empire....
But many UN delegates think that the empire's end is in sight.

"... The whole world saw that the Goan people refused to fight for the state that had enslaved them so long...."

"THE RESISTANCE of the Angolan people is amazing..."

'Salazar's biggest help comes from Washington...."

The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 6. "A third of the business district of Georgetown, British Guiana, was destroyed last weekend in riots promoted by British and U.S. colonialists and their stooges in an obvious move to bar independence for British Guiana.

"Under the guise of a protest against a tax program initiated by Premier Cheddi Jagan, mobs were unleashed for looting and thousands, of working people immobilized by appeals to chauvinism."

> The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. 11.

"THE ISOLATION of the White House in its invasion of Thailand is worldwide, press dispatches reveal. Even its major allies have made only the most formal and meaningless acknowledgement of the anxious bid for moral support by the Kennedy administration."

"Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev,...referred several times to the Pentagon adventure in his speeches..."

"The U.S. is trying to impose 'colonialism' on the Thai people, but the landing of the marines will serve, on the contrary, to arouse the people to struggle for their independence and freedom, he said."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 22, 1962, pp. 41, 7.

5. Capitalists Exploiting, Not Helping, Underdeveloped Countries.

"...what has happened around Congo and Goa happens everyday in all parts of the world. The big business monopolies of the United States follow the same policies around the world as did the Portuguese around Goa. The policies and actions of the capitalist governments and their individual spokesmen are always dictated not from national interest or the interest of the people, but from the interests of the big monopoly financial octopus...."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. 5.

"American imperialists supported Salazar not out of sentimental considerations alone. They wanted to keep Goa as a colony for several reasons...above all, Goa, as a NATO base could be used to bring pressure on India and threaten her security in case of 'need."

Ajoy Ghosh, "The Liberation of Goa," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 43.

'WHAT ARE the real reasons behind President Kennedy's undeclared war in Vietnam. Let us look behind the anti-Communist propaganda that covers so much blood-letting, and face the facts."

- "...Kennedy is the titular chief of an empire that dominates hundreds of millions of people in the West and the East. And the rulers of this empire want control of Southeast Asia...
- "...as a potential military springboard against China and neighboring lands....
 - "...for Vietnam's riches...."

The Worker, March 4, 1962, p. 4.

"... Everyone knows that American governments, directly or under the cover of NATO, have never stopped the dollars and military materials that permitted their 'proteges' from Paris to carry on their war in Algeria for so long. This fact cannot be denied, whatever 'anti-colonialist' statements Washington may make in the attempt to save face in the eyes of people recently liberated or still in bondage.

"It is therefore a great defeat for imperialism—this cease—fire in Algeria..."

Leon Feix, "France and Algeria: Democracy and Peace," Political Affairs, May, 1962, p. 27. "...contemporary imperialism gives a new function to the colonies—that of a market for the placing of surplus capital. The purpose of the colonial regime is to create conditions which will bring exceedingly high profits on this capital, such as the granting of free or semi-free land, and cheap or even free labor through a system of forced labor."

Jean Suret-Canale, "Colonialism's Impact on Africa," Political Affairs, June, 1962, pp. 30-31.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

- 1. The McCarran Act has been substituted for the Bill of Rights and hence endangers the rights of all Americans.
- 2. For communists to register as required by the McCarran Act would be to admit the so-called communist conspiracy, which is a big lie.
- 3. The ultraright is intent on destroying our constitutional form of government.
- 4. Communists are the most ardent defenders of our constitutional liberties.
- 5. The House Un-American Activities Committee persecutes progressives and must be abolished.
- 6. The Supreme Court's reapportionment decision has brought political discrimination before the bar of justice and opened a new front for expanding democracy.
- 7. The American people want and will support progressive legislation.
- 8. Legislation is urgently needed for curbing unreasonable literacy tests in elections, liberalizing unemployment insurance, securing equality for the Negro, and aiding the migrant worker.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. McCarran Act Threatens All Americans

"...the McCarran Law perils all people, not just Communists...."

The Worker, February 11, 1962, p. MW 4.

"THE McCARRAN LAW. 'is a concentration camp law'..."

"...a 'dragnet law' intended to 'fill the concentration camps without trial, without a jury. ""

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 20, 1962, p. 1.

"Following is the statement issued by the Communist Party in New York...

"The arrest of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, well known Communist leaders, and the indictment of the Communist Party, is part of the plot to substitute the McCarran Act for the Bill of Rights. That means a basic change in the way of life for all Americans."

"This is a police-state law....Our country becomes a nation of rumor and suspicion. neighbor informs against neighbor. "!

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 4.

- "...the McCarran Act is no longer 'just a law on the books'...
 it is a living danger to the rights of millions upon millions of Americans.
- "... The threat is to every progressive, liberty-minded man and woman in the United States."

The Committee To Defend Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis, "It Has Happened Here!" Political Affairs, May, 1962, pp. 1-2.

"JAMES T. TORMEY, executive secretary of the Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee, . . .

"... pointed out..."

"If the indictments against the Communist Party and its leaders are allowed to stand, where will this lead us? Which trade union, which national minority will be the next target? Which cherished civil right will we be called on to relinquish next?

"There is only one way to break the back of the McCarran monster. Stop all proceedings under the McCarran Act, '..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, pp. 1,7.

2. McCarran Act Embodies Big Lie

'It is the contention of the Communist Party in the present fight on the McCarran Act that anyone forced to register under it was being forced to confess violation of the Smith Act and being deprived of his protection under the Fifth Amendment against bearing witness against himself."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. MW 4.

"The McCarran Act is not a mere registration act. It writes into law the Hitlerite Big Lie of an alleged Communist 'conspiracy' and that the CP is a foreign subversive agent. To register would be confessing to these lies and would be perjury."

The Worker, January 28, 1962, p. 5.

'WHAT ABOUT Communists then? Are Hall and Davis truly being prosecuted for 'failure to register?' Any realistic, rational and honest American...will concede that 'registration' is a specious gimmick, that it is not the real issue. They are being threatened with long prison terms not for a technical 'registration' offense, but for their political advocacy..."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 9.

"... The McCarran Act characterizes Communists as criminals. Therefore it would be perjury for one who is not a criminal to admit under oath that he is a criminal. Furthermore, registering as a member of a 'Communist-action' organization during this period of anti-Communist hysteria would be like painting phospherescent bulls eyes on deer in the hunting season. He would be fair game not only for government prosecution, but for persecution by self-appointed patriots and professional cold warriors."

'In the Mainstream, "
Mainstream, April, 1962, p. 3.

3. <u>Ultraright Dangerous</u>

"The ultra-Right in Congress, reinforced by the most reactionary cliques in the Pentagon, and backed by a spreading network of rascist-minded local organizations, is expected to intensify its activities...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 16, 1962, p. 2.

"... How our land and its emblem have been sullied and defiled by the Birchers and the Goldwaters and the Un-American Walters' and the un-democratic and racist Eastlands!"

> The Worker, March 25, 1962, p. 5.

"THE McCARRAN ACT is the 'weapon of the Birchites and political hooligans, 'Benjamin J. Davis, told 500 students of Upsala College..."

"'The poison of the ultra-Right is not only politically dangerous and may throw the world into a nuclear ash heap, but it also obviously creates a mental insanity, as has been demonstrated by the performance of General Walker, Senator John Tower and Strom Thurmond, 'declared Davis...."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 2.

'Our People and Nation Face Grave Domestic And World Problems''

"-- The reactionary-right conspiracy hell-bent on destroying our constitutional form of government."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 24, 1962, p. 8.

4. Communists Defend Constitution

"The defense of the Communists is the defense of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. It is the defense of America's past history. But even more truly so, it is the defense of America's future."

'In the Mainstream, 'Mainstream, January, 1962, p. 9.

"The Communist Party is under a weird indictment today, under the McCarran Act. It has thereby been designated by history as the defender... of the Bill of Rights and all its guarantees of democratic rights. This is no insignificant role..."

The Worker, January 21, 1962, p. 7.

"The Communists are defenders of the U.S. Constitution. In the eyes of the whole world they are saving religious and political freedom guaranteed in the constitution, which those who have placed them on trial are trying to destroy...."

The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. 8.

'In a statement issued from its national headquarters... the Communist Party declared:

"No Communist will support any move under the fascist McCarran Act or any other legal proceeding to destroy Constitutional liberties in the U, S, \ldots "

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 1.

"This work of explaining the truth about the McCarran law, which the Communists initiated and carry forward, confident in the people's ability to make a timely judgment against it, has now been taken up by many other patriotic individuals and organizations who have come to see how the McCarran law violates the national interests both at home and abroad."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 3.

5. Abolish House Un-American Activities Committee

"The Un-American Activities Committee has shown itself to be more un-American, according to our Revolutionary concept of American freedom, than the most reactionary foreigner who ever set foot on these shores.

"...our government, powerfully influenced by the worst bigots and reactionaries, did establish the Committee on Un-American Activities, not in order to get rid of crooks and criminals, or spies or sabateurs, but to persecute hundreds of first-class and law-abiding citizens, because Rankin, Dies, McCarthy and Nixon didn't like their liberal and political ideas or their efforts to organize progressive trade unions..."

"Millions of dollars have been poured down the drain into this un-American Activities Committee. The same money could be spent in promoting the good and welfare of all people, Negro and white, native or foreign-born."

The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. 8.

"...the House Un-American Activities Committee...has received another \$350,000 to continue its disgraceful hounding of even the mildest of progressives, it has not yet found a single Un-American among the rightists.

"Will Americans...awaken in time to stem the new conspiracy to put on horseback men who'd throw us back generations and into World War III?"

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 6, 1962, p. 2.

"The committee to abolish HUAS is in a drive aimed at producing the maximum number of votes for abolition of HUAC when its mandate is presented for ratification on the opening day of the new Congress."

"...the McCarran Act is the child of HUAC...."

The Worker, May 27, 1962, p. 4.

6. Reapportionment Decision Holds Promise

"ONE HAS EVERY right to look forward to a far more aggressive use of the Supreme Court's Tennessee reapportionment decision by trade unions and by political independents than has taken place up to now."

> The Worker, May 27, 1962, p. 3.

"THE SUPREME Court broke a long-standing precedent in the reapportionment Tennessee case: it avowedly entered the field of political discrimination, extending the coverage of the 14th Amendment...."

"... the decision has opened up a new, broad front of struggle for expanding democracy. Racial and religious discrimination, both prohibited by the Constitution, stand legally outlawed and morally condemned, even though the prohibitions are far from truly enforced. The Tennessee decision has brought up political discrimination before the bar of justice. It might well be turned into the beginning of the end."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 3.

7. People Favor Progressive Legislation

'It is clear that mass movements and intensive campaigning will determine the fate of a peace program, civil rights and civil liberties, education and youth legislation, and the labor and social legislation promised in the 1960 platform..."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. 1.

"Analysis of the American people and their many organizations will show that action around the people's needs can win victories for peace and progress in the present period. Reliance on the President to act in behalf of the people without such popular pressure is folly. Such actions will also demonstrate the need for new political alignments, for new faces in the next Congress and new movements in the primaries and in the November elections to assure greater victories. The people's needs and the struggle for peace demand popular mass action, on an ever swelling scale."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 12.

"THE PRESIDENT was strongly supported by the overwhelming majority of the people for his crackdown on the steel trust...."

"... The people want strong legislation to curb the steel and all other monopolies and a rigid ban on such extortionate profits as those exposed in the Senate hearings on missile manufacturing."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 17, 1962, p. 2.

"AN ALL-STAR CAST of dignitaries, headed by President Kennedy, addressed a rally of 20,000 people at Madison Square Garden last Sunday in the kick-off to a campaign to get the King-Anderson bill, providing medical care for the aged through Social Security, passed in Congress."

"The President said it was essential that the people support progressive legislation if it is to be passed."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 22, 1962, p. 1.

8. Needed Legislation Lagging

12 - Car

"THE KENNEDY Administration last week withdrew from its policy of no civil rights legislation, and introduced a bill to curb unreasonable literacy tests in Presidential and Congressional elections."

"The Kennedy moves followed increasingly heavy criticism by civil rights advocates who had played a decisive part in his election to the Presidency."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 30, 1962, p. 2.

"THE NUMBER OF CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED IS GROWING BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS IN OUR COUNTRY.

"The situation is crying out loud for remedy and solution. Of course there is no one thing that will cure this situation.

"The most elementary, most immediate thing that should be done is to change the present unemployment insurance Law so that unemployed workers will get unemployment insurance for the duration of unemployment."

The Worker, April 1, 1962, p. 8.

"NINETY-NINE years after the Emancipation Proclamation Washington has not yet secured to the Negro people their Constitutional rights of equality of citizenship....

"No section of the population has been more urgently in need of direct representation on the bench of the Supreme Court than the Negro people, who are the constant victims of legal chicanery and aggressions against their civil rights at the hands of racist Southern states solicitors."

"...the demand for a Negro on the Supreme Court will not down..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 2.

"THE SENATE last Tuesday buried the Administration's literacy test bill..."

"... Its defeat leaves millions of Negroes virtually defenseless before hostile Southern registrars."

"The Kennedy Administration...under sharp criticism abandoned its policy of no civil rights legislation...and introduced a number of civil rights measures, but apparently it had little relish for them...."

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 16.

"Daily, systematic denial of democratic rights to migrant workers under the American caste system can only be redressed by legislative and executive action in behalf of this submerged section of our people. In the struggle the right of children and adults to full education must not be forgotten."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 34.

VII. ARMED FORCES

- 1. Peaceful coexistence is the only guarantee of security; therefore, the building of useless bomb shelters should be discouraged; United States troops in Thailand should be recalled; and agreements for a coalition government in Laos should be supported.
- 2. Halting the arms race is a paramount duty of all nations, for until the world agrees to disarm, the demands of the military budget will continue to rob the American people of essential domestic functions.
- 3. Expenditures for a military budget are a grievous waste and serve only to increase the profits of armaments manufacturers.
- 4. Resumption of nuclear testing by the United States can only result in an armaments race that will end in an atomic war of extinction.
- 5. Reckless, irresponsible military leaders of the Pentagon, by their actions in Asia, are slowly but surely dragging the country into war.
- 6. The Government's belief in military supremacy and preventive war makes it impossible for the Soviet Union to negotiate for a peaceful world.
- 7. The American people are not behind the trumped-up emergencies in Europe and Asia but want their money spent on social welfare and on jobs not provided by war industries.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. PEACE Only Protection

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"Peaceful co-existence has come to the fore...as the keystone in the struggle for peace...."

"... a new peace movement is on the upswing. The future of our country is in that new movement...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 2, 1962, p. 6.

"A FEW MONTHE AGO, one of the boomiest businesses was: building bomb shelters.

"Then came the opinions of experts to the effect that shelters in an atomwar were no protection whatsoever.

"The more people thought about the problem, the more they came to the conclusion that there is but ONE protection against A and H bombs: PEACE."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 6.

"The action of the U.S. military in Thailand and Laos, added to that in South Vietnam, clearly constitutes a threat to world peace. The build-up of U.S. military strength on the territories of these Southeast Asian countries can serve no legitimate interest of our own country and people, and threatens to trigger another Korea-type war."

"Let everyone concerned with the preservation of our country's honor, national interest, and world peace write President Kennedy to recall our troops from Thailand and support the agreements already arrived at for establishment of a coalition government in a free and neutral Laos."

The Worker, May 27, 1962, p. 3.

2. Armaments a World-Wide Burden

"IN THE STATE OF THE Union message, President John F. Kennedy began with a series of domestic problems and then related all of this to his cold war program. In the budget message, he made the primacy of his cold war objectives more clear and put the 'defense, international, and space activities' in one package for first consideration. Increases in appropriations for any of the 'domestic civil functions' were not to interfere with the military budget but were made only at the expense of other domestic functions."

Arnold Johnson, "The Kennedy Program," Political Affairs, February, 1962, p. 1.

"...the American people have been robbed of essential services by the ever-increasing demands for government spending on armaments..."

The Worker, March 18, 1962, p. 11.

"GUS HALL urged the United Nations to call an 'emergency world meetisg' to end the deadly atomic arms race in his address to a crowded May Day rally in Union Square.

"The United Nations has no more important issue before it, the Communist spokesman declared. Let the statesmen, governments, parties of the world put other matters aside until this issue is resolved. And let all human nuclear testing end until this meeting begins."

The Worker, May 6, 1962, p. 16.

"Titov's message to Americans is that the problems of complete disarmament must be solved with sincere and conscientious work by all powers negotiating in good faith, in order to release the vast wealth in material and scientific talent that is now being consumed in a potentially humanity destroying armaments race, so that these vast resources can be channeled into not only solving the problems of living on earth, but also for international cooperation in man's mastery of the very depths of the Universe."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 8. "That the armaments burden is a universal curse...was further attested to last week, when the Soviet government announced that it was regretably compelled to raise the prices on meat and butter... The explanation is that capital expenditures needed for affecting a rapid growth in agricultural productivity could not be diverted from the arms budget because of the continuing armaments race and the menacing cold war stance of the West in respect to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of the world."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, p. 2.

3. Wealth Wasted by War Economy

- "... the total stockpile of strategic materials exceeds \$7.7 billion...
- "...Both cold war parties are responsible. Excess stockpiling is part of the systematic super-profiteering which is one of the main big business motives in promoting a garrison state."

"This waste is not accidental. It is systematically developed by power-hungry generals and profit-hungry munitions magnates.... that goes far to explain why the Soviet Union is able to match the United States in military strength with less than one-third of our military budget."

"... the President's stockpiling investigation is a piece of demagogy."

The Worker, February 18, 1962, p. 4.

"... The war economy is profitable not for the millions of unemployed persons, but for the millionaires who are seeking to become billionaires at the taxpayers' expense."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. MW 2. "There is increasing recognition that the economic stimulus of militarism is playing out in the U.S. It is more and more overshadowed by the dead weight of the tax burden it places on the economy. It has a class effect—profiting big arms magnates at the expense of the people. But its main economic effect is to intensify stagnation and chronic unemployment. The stimulus of Kennedy's extra-big dose of militarism has almost petered out before Washington expected; so consideration is being given to throwing more munitions billions into the pot."

The Worker, May 6, 1962, p. 6.

4. Nuclear Testing Invites War

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"Throughout the country, in every imaginable form, people of all classes, races, religions and political beliefs are doing everything they can to express their demands for an end to nuclear weapons tests, for the destruction of all H-bomb stockpiles and for general and complete disarmament.

"These are people of whom all of us can indeed be proud-and whom all could well emulate."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 2, 1962, p. 2.

"The protest against the deadly tests has just begun.

"It is part of a nationwide people's upsurge for sanity and survival.

"It will not be intimidated, for it is directed against the greatest terror of all—an atomic arms race that can usher in a war of extinction."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 6, 1962, p. 2.

"...the entire nation and the world were plunged into gloom by the President's announcement Friday that the U.S. would resume nuclear weapons testing in the air. This new step in the arms race can mean only-unless checked-that the American people will have to learn to burrow themselves in the earth like moles instead of freeing themselves from the fetters of earth's gravity for the great adventures of space."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 6, 1962, p. 2.

''GUS HALL, leading Communist spokesman in the U.S., last Thursday, condemned bomb testing in the South Pacific as 'a devastating disregard for the peace of the people in all parts of the world. "'

"...and then added, 'While the fascists of the ultra-Right will cheer the decision, the responsibility for testing and the war preparations program must also be squarely placed on the big business war contract profiteers, the Pentagon brass, and the political spokesmen of American monopoly."

"'The beginning of testing also indicates the increased power of the military in our country, and the growing danger of the "strike-first policy" combined with the "overkill stockpile" policy. The testing decision is not a defensive measure. It indicates that those forces are on the increase who advocate "aggression as the best defense" and are shouting 'win the cold war by turning it into a hot war." That is dangerous."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 1, 1962, p. 2.

5. Pentagon Wants War

"THE HEARINGS now being conducted by the Special Senate Preparedness Subcommittee into the so-called muzzling of generals by civilian authorities are proving... "The need for civilian control over the military...So is the need for censoring these reckless, irresponsible ultras.

'But what is even more serious is the revelation of the dangerous warmaking plans of influential sections of the Pentagon and the kind of people who are promoting these plans."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 30, 1962, p. 4.

"THE PENTAGON is sucking the nation into a full-scale war against the South Vietnamese people...

"... U.S. military commanders are heating up a war of brutality and atrocity in South Vietnam. Great areas are being destroyed by poison chemicals sprayed from American-manned U.S. military planes. Napalm bombs are being used to burn villages. Entire villages of freedom-seeking South Vietnamese are being uprooted and transported to concentration camps for brainwashing."

"...many observers are beginning to worry about the possibility of a new Korean-type war...."

'Washington is therefore defying international law in South Vietnam, just as it did two weeks ago, when it broke solemn treaties entered into with Cuba and other Latin American nations, promising never to intervene in any way against any country of the Americas."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 13, 1962, p. 2.

"...peace and war are at opposite poles, and Americans want peace. So one may ask what pushed the Administration into this distant and perilous adventure.

"The answer is found in the Pentagon and Wall Street.
Washington's war policy reflects the powerful influence of international investors, arms companies and saber-rattling generals and admirals.

"The Pentagon is now talking of expanding the Asian war...."

"How far the military will dare to 'ecscalate' this war against the peoples of Asia is another question, of course...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 15, 1962, p. 7.

6. Government's Policy Bars Negotiation

"...contrary to the desires of the vast majority of the American people and of the world, the Kennedy Administration ordered the U.S. delegate to break up the Geneva test ban talks because the Soviet Union would not agree to Washington's terms."

'It is this policy of negotiating from a so-called position of strength, initiated by Truman, elaborated by Eisenhower and now deified by Kennedy which has kept the world in a state of dangerous turmoil. It has been the reckless belief in military superiority, beginning with the supposed monopoly of the atombomb, which has made impossible fruitful negotiations with the Soviet Union.

"But the issue is not military superiority. The issue is the survival of the human race."

The Worker, March 11, 1962, p. 3.

"If diplomatic threats, the tremendous buildup of nuclear weapons and the massing of H-planes and Polaris submarines does not intimidate other nations, it follows naturally to begin thinking in terms of using these weapons.

"That is the logic of the so-called deterrence policy of the Kennedy administration. The Pentagon brass, the Ultra-Right, certain Wall Street imperialists who have pressured the President into this policy understand its logic clearly—because they advocate preventive war."

The Worker, April 8, 1962, p. 3.

"THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION, driven frantic by the rapid dissolution of its positions in South East Asia, took the road to even more reckless actions when the President ordered U.S. naval, air and land forces to move toward the Indochina peninsula."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 15, 1962, p. 1.

"The dispatch of thousands of marines to Thailand. the massing of the U.S. Seventh Fleet on the shores of that dictator-ridden nation and the poising of an unrevealed number of U.S. military personnel on the Laos-Thailand border in readiness to march agressively into the territory of the Pathet Lao fighters for Laotian independence--all these last week brought almost to the point of no return the disastrous Southeast Asia policy of the Kennedy administration."

"... the false assumption that the Pathet Lao forces are a communist puppet rather than a political organization seeking independence and freedom for Laos... seeks to hide the truth of the situation."

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 1.

7. People Question Military Emergencies

"IF WE'RE NOT fighting in Vietnam we ought to stop dying there. We ought to withdraw from the war we're not engaged in, and bring home the boys who aren't in it. Then the Defense Department can stop sending those telegrams to the families of our soldiers who didn't really die."

The Worker, March 4, 1962, p. 2. "BOSTON--Unrest among the U.S. army reservists at Camp Devens was expressed here when some 100 angry wives from 13 states gathered at the home of...a reservist's wife. Most of the wives felt that their husbands were called up on a trumped-up emergency--the Berlin crisis. They said their husbands were bitter and felt they were made the fall guys of this phoney emergency."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 6, 1962, p. 6.

"... the war industries themselves are showing that they cannot provide the employment to fill the gap in the U.S. caused by automation and the shift from various types of manned armament to the huge single mass-destructive missiles and nuclear weapons of all types."

The Worker, March 18, 1962, p. 2.

"... Unemployment is caused by capitalism; not by armaments or the lack of them."

"...the government must provide the people with the benefits of disarmament; creating jobs by finally carrying out really massive programs in the areas of health, education, welfare, and housing, with part of the funds now wasted on munitions...."

The Worker, March 18, 1962, p. 4.

"While the tension grows in the Laotian crisis, the American soldiers already involved in the 'dirty' war against the fighters for freedom in South Vietnam are asking in ever-increasing numbers why they are in that country."

The Worker, May 20, 1962, p. 14.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

- 1. Employment practices in the United States victimize the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Indians.
- 2. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and similar low-income minority groups are the principal victims of the housing crisis.
- 3. Although there is a great exodus of Negroes from the South, many Negroes coming north do not find their lot improved.
- 4. This is the 99th year since slavery was abolished; yet the Negro, in spite of his attempts to help his race, is still denied equal rights.
- 5. Jews are not persecuted in the Soviet Union but, in the United States, it is traditional to discriminate against them.
- 6. Capitalism in the United States will give way to socialism because it fails to provide true democracy for which its people have begun to fight.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Job Discrimination

"No spectacular progress has been made in terms of reducing the rate of unemployment among Negroes still running more than twice that among the whites, or in significant cracks through the apprenticeship barriers and exclusion bars of some carft unions. But the economic struggle has now won national attention, an important pre-condition for winning tangible gains."

The Worker, February 11, 1962, p. 4.

"Although Indians do not suffer from outright job descrimination, they are all unskilled or semi-skilled when they come to the city....

"Their major problem is their difficulty in adjusting to the 'cold and impersonal life of the city' and the competition for jobs. Such competition is alien to their beliefs and considered wrong....

"A large percentage of the Indians who come to the city return to the reservation after a say of a year or more...."

The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. MW 4.

"Most of the jobless are Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans who are the first to be fired because of racial discrimination and who bear the brunt of unemployment and misery that have stricken more than a hundred thousand workers in Chicago..."

The Worker, April 8, 1962, p. MW 2.

"... Negroes are paid less, are hired last, are fired first, are promoted least; they are subjected systematically, and all but universally in the United States, to special and intensive deprivation and exploitation when it comes to this basic matter of earning a living."

Herbert Aptheker, 'Civil Rights and the Federal Government," Political Affairs, May, 1962, p. 6.

2. Housing Crisis

'Negro airmen...are finding it difficult to rent off-base homes for their families."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. MW 2. "... Puerto Rican people.... are the people of whom perhaps 750,000 now live in New York City, segregated, discriminated against, packed into slums, allotted the most menial jobs and lowest pay along with the Negro population, and made the butt of screaming racism."

Sidney Finkelstein, "A Puerto Rican in New York," Political Affairs, January, 1962, p. 64.

'Old established communities have been uprooted.

"Negro, Puerto Rican families and those of low income generally have been pushed out, their homes either leveled or renovated to make way for apartments out of their reach.

"Huge, plush luxury apartment buildings providing lush profits for real estate brokers have invaded these communities."

"...the greatest sufferers of all from the housing crisis are the low income and especially minority groups being overlooked."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, p. 8.

3. <u>Migration from the South</u>

'In the last 30 years more than 469,000 Negroes have fled from the South to Chicago, with 47 percent of them, or 223,000, from Mississippi.

"Forty percent of all people on relief in Chicago come from the former Negro residents of Mississippi. In Chicago, discrimination, high rents and harassment has been the lot of many of these the Southerners."

The Worker, March 11, 1962, p. MW 2. "Denied the means of livelihood, without protection in the exercise of their political liberty, shorn of dignity, and the constant prey of brutal police and vigilante assault, a daily average of over 400 Negroes are forced into migration Northward in search of jobs and an atmosphere of human decency."

"Let every man and woman of conscience write or wire President John F. Kennedy, Secretary Abraham Ribicoff, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy for vigorous intervention to meet the plight of the thousands of Negro DP's (Displaced Persons) who have been deprived of livelihood and liberty behind the Cotton Curtain and are now being coerced into migration via a system of 'transports' reminiscent of Hitler's free transports of 'non-Aryans.'"

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 1, 1962, p. 2.

4. Ninety-nine Years without Equal Rights

"This year of 1962 marks the 99th year since the abolition of chattel slavery yet Negroes of the Southern states are still a disfranchised people and, in spite of some token integration in the schools, are the victims of all manner of discrimination and suffer a status of almost total segregation in American life."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. 3.

"The Negro people have to fight every inch of the way for equal citizenship."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 27, 1962, p. 1.

"...In this 99th year since the Emancipation Proclamation, the 20 million Negro citizens of our country still are compelled to wage unending struggle for their constitutionally-proclaimed yet generally withheld, equal rights...."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 11.

5. Anti-Semitism

"...IT IS ANOTHER great treachery to spread all these vile rumors and fabricated fictions about Soviet anti-semitism. It is remarkable that not one real fact, not one recorded injustice, or one persecution has been turned up by the army of professional anti-sovieteers."

"TODAY THE WHOLE problem is really one of assimilation, not persecution. As in the United States, probably more than half the Jews have voluntarily dropped the Yiddish of their fathers and mothers. This is a process of history, not anti-semitism."

The Worker, February 25, 1962, pp. 4, 8.

"...Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, told a meeting of the St. Louis ADL."

"Anti-Semitism...did not die with Hitler or with the decline of organized bigotry in this country. Instead it lies embedded in the American subconscious rising to the surface in times of tension...

"'One fourth of the hotels in the U.S. will not admit Jews for a night's lodging....Here we have "quotas" of Jews admitted to our higher educational institutions. Likewise, discrimination in housing, neighborhoods and suburban locations exists here as an American tradition. ""

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 4.

6. American Democracy Found Wanting

"...as slavery and feudalism gave way to capitalism, so capitalism will be replaced by socialism and communism. That is a day for the overwhelming majority of Negro...Americans to look forward to..."

"... Irrespective of differences in our political views, we are willing to and do work with people of all races, creeds, colors and opinion for the social good of our country in general, and for the full, free equality of the Negro people in particular.

"In the unity, militant action, and strength of the people lies the victory which is sure to come."

The Worker, February 11, 1962, p. 9.

"...to really make any effective social advancement the poll tax amendment brings too little. The proof of this lies in the fact that racism continues as a policy...and the fight against segregation is now national in scope."

"... The immorality of racism can no longer be concealed by platitudinous phrases about a 'free world' and the virtues of American democracy."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 10, 1962, p. 6.

"... the Negro in America has become the barometer of the effectiveness and realism of our economic system, as well as our political ideology.

"We face very realistically today the question: Will the Negro citizen in America become that pool of unemployed, that reservoir of surplus labor which Karl Marx contended in his Manifesto was essential to the survival of the capitalist system?"

The Worker, June 17, 1962, p. 8.

IX. EDUCATION

- 1. The crisis in American schools is caused by an insufficient allocation of funds for education.
- 2. In this period of student unrest, college students are showing an interest in Marxism which should not be suppressed.
- 3. Colleges and universities have made progress in their struggle for the right to hear communist speakers.
- 4. The educational achievements of the socialist countries put American education to shame.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Money Diverted from Schools Causes Crisis

"THE THIEF who steals pennies out of a blind man's cup has supposedly reached the bottom of the ladder. But where does his crime compare to those who deny our children the right to learn by depriving them of text-books for study?"

"Here in a nutshell is the shameful tragedy of our nation to-day.

"Cut to the bone when it comes to text-books for our children."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 30, 1962, p. 2.

"Many, especially parents, teachers groups, educators conscious of the critical condition our semi-starved schools are asking 'how long shall our children's schools needs be held hostage by those who seek to violate our basic constitutional rights'?"

The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. 12.

"More and better schools, more and better teachers, at higher payand security at home for the students.

"That's it in a nutshell.

"All this, of course, takes money.

"But consider.

"Our Government is about to spend billions of dollars for B-70 Bombers that they admit are outmoded, obsolete and useless.

'ONLY AN ALERT, informed and genuinely patriotic citizenry could bring the necessary change about."

The Worker, April 22, 1962, p. 8.

"The Teachers Union, in saying that 'there is no substitute for money,' put its finger on the heart of the crisis of our schools.

"They are being starved to death."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 24, 1962, p. 7.

"Following the historic teachers strike Gov. Rockefeller made an extra \$13 million available to the city."

"The number one problem is: how to unite the fight for adequate pay and improved conditions for the long-harassed teachers and the need for smaller classes, total rather than token desegregation of the city's schools, special attention to raising the level of teaching in the 'so-called difficult schools' in segregated and border-line areas and adequate modern school buildings."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, June 5, 1962, pp. 2, 6.

2. Trend toward Including Controversial Issues in Curricula

"Now that the subject of 'Communism' is part of many College curricula, orders are coming in for copies of The Worker.

"One college class ordered four different issues, 245 copies.

"The students wish to hear what the instructor has to say. But at the same time they want to see for themselves and read for themselves, FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES."

"...we expect that some of the college students, reading our paper while studying the subject of communism, will subscribe for the paper, become steady readers..."

The Worker, March 18, 1962, p. 8.

"... the blanket of silence... covers Marxism in American universities.... there are exceptions. Especially in this period of student unrest, teachers are being forced more and more to recognize that if they themselves think Marxism irrelevant, their students, in many cases, do not. Marxism is being discussed on campuses and communists themselves, in some cases, are speaking to large and interested crowds of students."

Editor's note introducing an article by William Wheeler, "Marxism in American Academic Life," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 40.

"THERE are two prominent myths currently circulating about American universities: one is that most college students are politically apathetic; the other is that where they are not apathetic, there is a groundswell of conservatism...."

Paul Phillips, "Cornell's Student Publications," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 54.

"SEVEN MEN prepared a report telling how economics should be taught in high schools...."

"...included is a rather honest discussion of income inequality and poverty...

"... in teaching about socialism the professors point out positive features as well as negative distortions. They find that Communist societies have achieved more economic stability than capitalist..."

"Finally, the professors urge that one-sided views not be rammed down the students' throats. Students should do their own research, and express their conclusions without fear of reprisal. Controversial issues should be examined scientifically, with all aspects and viewpoints examined....

The Worker, May 27, 1962, p. 6.

3. Demand for Communist Speakers

"BENJAMIN J. DAVIS yesterday termed the 'screening' of speakers who are proposed by student groups at Queens College 'a ruse for getting around the lifting of the speaker ban.""

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 9, 1962, p. 2.

"Immense tasks are being accomplished by the students who have fought and have won the right to listen to speakers of all political views."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. 1. "A Minnesota Freedom of the Press committee is seeking permission from school authorities to have Benjamin J. Davis, Communist leader, speak before a Central High School convocation in St. Paul.

"Ralph W. Taylor of Minneapolis, committee chairman, said the request was made because of the appearance of Movie Actor Ronald Reagan who severely condemned Communists in a speech before a high school convocation last January...."

The Worker, April 15, 1962, p. MW 1.

"THE VICTORIOUS struggle of the students and faculty of the University of Oregon to hear Gus Hall speak early in February became a nationwide symbol last week for freedom of speech throughout America's colleges and universities."

The Worker, May 6, 1962, p. 2.

4. Education in Socialist Countries Superior

"Cuba as of today is a land without illiteracy. It was done in a year.

'If history has shown a similar accomplishment in learning—and in so brief a span of time—I have not read of it.

"One million Cubans—primarily of the countryside—learned to read and write. They were taught by a voluntary effort, perhaps unequalled in intensity, organization and enthusiasm. Latin American and other foreign observers here regard it as a 'miracle' of education.

"Actually it is an accomplishment of a revolution that is socialist. One that has the benefit of studying the experience of the other lands of the world that have departed from capitalism—about a third of the world's population."

The Worker, January 7, 1962, p. 6.

- "...at the Brooklyn Museum where arts and crafts of Soviet children are on display....
- "...teachers...had a hard time keeping the exhuberant little critics from fendling the works of the Soviet children. This reporter had to restrain himself from doing some fonding of his own, so palatable was the art, so professional were the crafts."
- "... One young girl from P. S. 12 expressed her enthusiasm to this reporter by criticising her own art instruction. 'We don't get taught like this, she said angrily..."

The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. 6.

"THE GULF BETWEEN our vaunted American 'democracy' and our practice is nowhere more obvious than in education. In the same field, the achievements of Socialism are daily becoming harder to deny, from the Cuban liquidation of illiteracy to the overwhelming superiority of public education in the Soviet Union."

The Worker, March 11, 1962, p. 8.

".... So far our educational system has had little or no experience in developing vocational abilities among migratory workers. This serious neglect is only one more indication of the failure of our social and economic system to discover and develop fully the rich talents of Americans..."

Holland Roberts, "American Untouchables," Mainstream, May, 1962, p. 35.

"...In the socialist world, education and training really can be co-ordinated with automation, and nobody becomes unemployed, while living standards go up and working hours go down."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 6.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

- 1. It is inevitable that capitalism and socialism will compete for adherents and, this being true, cultural exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union are conducive to understanding and progress.
- 2. To television sponsors, advertising and sales are paramount; therefore, broadcasters give the public the programs that are money-makers, regardless of the tastes of the audience.
- 3. The motion-picture industry has a perfect medium for elevating man's cultural level but seldom takes the trouble to use it that way.
- 4. The successful scientific exploration of outer space emphasizes the wisdom of glorifying man and disparaging Heaven.
- 5. Marxism has a goal in common with the goal of the Enlightment and the great religions, that is, to eliminate poverty, racial discrimination, exploitation of man by man, and war.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Achieving American-Soviet Understanding

"... The Soviet press..."

"...has also taken note of...the beginning of negotiations in Washington on an agreement for continuation of American-Soviet exchanges in science, technology, education and culture....

"The Soviet public's attitude to American exchange artists visiting the USSR is one indication of the popularity of the official government's efforts to achieve an American-Soviet understanding...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 6, 1962, p. 8.

"No one can change the fact that capitalism and socialism...will inevitably compete with each other for the mind and allegiance of people everywhere. They will inevitably compete in the field of ideas; in the sciences; in their rates of industrial growth; in; hours and wages and conditions of working; in schooling and opportunities they offer their young generations; in cultural and moral values. Competition in such fields is inevitable and, what is more, it is generally a good and healthy thing that will stimulate social progress."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 11.

2... Dollar Emphasis on Television Programs

'It is only good business, after all, to encourage the kind of thinking that makes your product acceptable in the public mind. So that if you can't sell a tank or a howitzer on a family television program you can at least sell the idea the violence and death are an inevitable part of life. Consciously or unconsciously the sponsors tend to seek 'corporate images' which reflect their products, their thoughts, and their way of looking at life."

"There is not a single trade union who has a say, through newspaper advertising or TV sponsorship, in the cultural affairs of the nation. There is not a single university that competes with Anheuser-Busch (beers) or Schenley Industries (Whiskies) as an arbitrator of the literary tastes of the people. There is not a single church. There is not a single people's organization."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 30, 1962, p. 5.

"THE great limitation of television is that, like other privately owned big businesses, its primary goal is maximum profits...."

"... the Glenn flight serves to remind us that TV is still interested first and foremost in maximum profits The telecast of the historic orbit has left a bad taste in the mouths of network officials. Why? Because it wasn't profitable."

"... As long as advertisers mediate between the viewers and programs there will be a miasma of commercials and a strict demand for political conformity by the big sponsoring corporations. So the public must demand an end to sponsor domination and influence in TV viewing...."

Robert Forrey, "TV: For Better or Worse," Mainstream, May, 1962, pp. 5, 7, 9.

3. Hollywood Misses Opportunity

"THE WEST SIDE STORY is something to see.

'It is perhaps the best musical Hollywood ever made...."

"This theme, as you probably know, is the 'ROMEO AND JULIET' story....

"... the truth is that this plot severely weakens the film's realism. It limits the scope of what it says and at times imposes artificial limitations on the action.

"...by focusing the theme, of brotherhood and equality, on the frenzied fighting of young hoodlums, the authors unwittingly reinforce in the audience's mind the very stereotype about Puerto Rican youth they seek to combat..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 16, 1962, p. 5.

"What's 'Lover Come Back' really about? Nothing at all—a subject that Hollywood handles so well!"

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 13, 1962, p. 5.

"... Movies, perhaps of all the arts, can best best depict the new ideas, new dimensions of time and space, penetrate the secrets of the cosmos and the atom, and relate what this new world of knowledge means to man, as well as what, by this knowledge, man can learn about his relations to reality, to society, and to man, himself.

"Can--but seldom attempt to...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 3, 1962, p. 5.

4. Space Exploration Minimizes Heaven

"... With the increasing exploration of Outer Space, scientists have shown less and less interest in Heaven."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 13, 1962, p. 5.

"MANKIND HAD BEEN electrified by his astonishing feat of courage and scientific mastery in girdling the earth from outer space some 17 times in 25 hours. Major Gherman S. Titov by his deed had extended man's realm into the cosmos to the glory of man and everymans gratitude...."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 8, 1962, p. 2.

"COSMONAUT GHERMAN STEPANOVICH TITOV and his good ship Vostok II... adorned the earth with rainbow circuits in outer space, 17 halos of glory crowning the head of man. This phenomenon of science, this heroic exploit of unconquerable man, has demonstrated the breaching of the last major barrier that has kept man through the ages from direct communion with the stars

"AND IT WAS ALTOGETHER CONGRUOUS that this wonderous achievement was performed by one of those men of tomorrow who already dwell among us today—by a Communist man, that is. And that today's premier builders of space ships that will carry man through the heavens tomorrow are the scientists and workers from a country which was the first in the world to achieve a system of society without the exploitation of man by man, wherein the toil of man's labor and brain is wholly channeled to the cause of the fullest satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man."

The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 9.

5. Marxism and Religion Share Common Aim

"... In dedication to the struggle to eliminate poverty, human indignity, racism, cultural deprivation and war, Marxism knows and emphasizes that these goals are common to those held by partisans of the Enlightenment and upholders of all the Great Religions. Were Marxists alone in this dedication, they would fail. They are not alone, however, and together all of us who stand opposed to systematized exploitation and extermination will-exactly because we do stand together-overcome the forces of evil and fulfill the promise that is Man."

Herbert Aptheker, "Marxism and Man's Destiny," Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 23.

XI. WOMEN

- 1. American women are mobilizing and working with women all over the world to bring about disarmament and peace.
- 2. Women have made greater achievements in the socialist countries than in the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Women Work for Disarmament and Peace:

"The Women's Strike for Peace in a leaflet advertising the massive mobilization on January 15, declared:...

"We do not accept that our children may die--not even quietly-in our arms, but in an inferno of panic, anguish, degradation and filth. Nothing can justify this end."

> The Worker, January 14, 1962, p. 1.

"THE 50 WOMEN who had gone to Geneva to lobby for peace returned last Saturday with the intention of asking President Kennedy that they be allowed to take over a military base near the Soviet Union and turn it into a cultural-exchange center."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 10, 1962, p. 2.

"ATLANTIC CITY -- A convention of 250 delegates to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WIL) meeting here adopted a resolution to President Kennedy calling for the suspension of atmospheric nuclear tests and to resubmit to the Geneva Disarmament Conference the United States proposal of Sept. 3, 1961, for an atmospheric test ban without on-site inspection.

"They also commended Kennedy for his proposed cooperation with the Soviet Union in the exploration of outer space.

"Another resolution adopted, said, they were in agreement with the stated objective of the Administration to neutralize Laos, and with its attempt to apply pressure on the Phoumi Nosavan faction through withdrawal of aid."

> The Worker, May 13, 1962, p. 14.

"While Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, the First Lady, was inside the Electric Boat Company shipyard here, christening the 11th and largest Polaris submarine, 250 ladies stood outside in the largest protest demonstration ever held there."

"...an open letter to Mrs. Kennedy issued at the launching site... stated...

""...we believe there is no alternative but to eradicate the concept of war from the minds of men and to proceed immediately and independently with the dismantling of our weapons."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, May 15, 1962, p. 3.

"ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Hundreds of women will be here, June 8 for a national meeting to further peace activities in the U.S. and to explore plans for international sessions with women from other lands."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 5.

2. Socialist Women Have More Opportunities

"THE NATURAL superiority of women still remains a theory... and it will be a long time before history catches up with nature and women are free to prove the theory in practice. The question must first be settled as to the superiority of the productive classes over their parasitical rulers."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 9, 1962, p. 5.

"... According to the Census Bureau, women workers in the U.S. earn only 60 percent of what men make and only 20 of our 50 states have equal pay for equal work laws. Only 16 states and the District of Columbia pay women school teachers salaries comparable to those paid to men.

"In all socialist countries equal pay for equal work is guaranteed by law, as is the right of women to hold any job except those that might constitute a health hazard."

"These...are achievements that would be welcomed by most U.S. working women. There are many others, too, such as a much greater participation of women living under socialism in government and public life than in the U.S. and far superior employment opportunities."

The Worker, March 4, 1962, p. 5.

XII. YOUTH

- 1. Youth's unprecedented political awareness and activity are scoring gains in the peace, civil rights, and civil liberties movements.
- 2. Today's college students, examining every phase of our society, want to probe the problem of communism, but they are not satisfied by anticommunist lectures; they want to hear real communists talk.
- 3. The danger of nuclear warfare blights the future of American youth.
- 4. A vital need for youth in leadership positions in the Communist Party is indicated by the increased activity of youth everywhere and the high age level of present Party leaders.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Youth's Unprecedented Political Awareness

"A...youth peace demonstration... in Washington on Feb. 16-17."

"...shook the nation's capital for two days...."

The Worker, February 25, 1962, p. 3.

"A SPIRITED picket-line of 1,500, which later marched 16 blocks to join an additional 1,500 at St. Nicholas Arena, gave the lie last week to Sen. Barry Goldwater's boast that 'conservatism was the wave of the future.'"

"While many others participated, it was the students who gave a particular flavor to the picket-line and the St. Nicholas Arena meeting."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, March 13, 1962, p. 3.

- "...the editors of New Horizons for Youth...
- "...issued a statement..."

'"...The last few years have been marked by unprecedented political awareness and activity on the part of the youth of the United States. Students have been instrumental in achieving gain in civil rights, peace, and civil liberties.'"

The Worker, April 8, 1962, p. 5.

2. Youth Wants To Know about Communism

"HALL EXPLAINED...'The right to probe fearlessly is a necessity for Youth, if they are to achieve answers that will solve their problems, which are actually the problems of mankind.

"One problem which has been often posed for Youth, in a false and hysterical way, is the problem of Communism. Their response at these meetings show that they are no longer willing to accept a discussion on Communism which does not include Communists in the debate."

The Worker, March 11, 1962, p. 6.

- "...the editors of New Horizons for Youth...
- "...issued a statement..."

"For the first time since before the McCarthy Era we see large numbers of youth examining and questioning every phase of our society. Today's student is not satisfied with a lecture on communism. He wants to hear a Communist speak on the subject...."

The Worker, April 8, 1962, p. 5.

"... Miss Flynn said,...

""... Communists are news today, dramatic news. The splendid reception Gus Hall received on the Pacific Coast and Ben Davis received in Eastern colleges, and their TV interviews and news conferences illustrate the great interest in what Communists have to say. Anti-Communists are a dime a dozen these days, but a real-life Communist gets a respectful hearing, especially from the youth....

The Worker, Midweek Edition, April 10, 1962, pp. 3, 7.

"Over 2,000 students, by police count, crowded along the banks of the Red Cedar River and on the rear lawn of a fraternity hourse at Michigan State University, to hear U.S. Communist Party spokesman, Robert Thompson...."

"Thompson won the crowd when he praised students for throwing of McCarthyism which had such an effect on freedom of education. This shows a growing realization that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine affects more than just one third of the world's thinking. It indicates a true realization of social philosophy that can't be gained by listening to professional anti-Communists, he said."

The Worker, June 3, 1962, p. 5.

3. Youth Faces Dark Future

"....school children...crouch in fearful anticipation of a nuclear bomb blast to rehearse the future laid out for them by the government in Washington. Is this not a horrible prospect for the youth of the nation to contemplate?..."

The Worker, Midweek Edition, January 2, 1962, p. 3.

"Some Chicago school children no longer say when I grow up in speaking about their future but if I grow up."

"This is one of the by-products of the fallout shelter talk...."

The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. MW 2.

"The youth of America faces an uncertain future. "

The Worker, Midweek Edition, February 27, 1962, p. 1.

4. Communist Party, USA, Needs Youthful Leaders

'Of greatest importance is the regular renewal of leadership and the training and promotion of young people and workers to posts of leadership and to do it boldly. This has become a life and death question. This does not mean the discarding of old leaders, but a blending of old and new with great stress on new young forces. This is demanded not only by the rising popular movement in which youth plays a leading part, but by the high age level of the Party. What Lenin wrote at a time of rising governments in Russia is keenly applicable to the CPUSA. We have to recruit young people more boldly and widely and again more widely and again more boldly without fearing them. ***

William Weinstone, 'On the Communist Party and Democratic Centralism,' Political Affairs, June, 1962, p. 51.

^{*}Underlined portion italicized in original.